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## SUMMARY

The Kazakh SSR still claims a great deal of official attention in regard to ideological purity. Unsatisfactory progress in political education, inadequate encouragement of socialist competition and unwillingness to promote criticism and self-criticism are highlighted in Party activities. Most of the regional transmitters are still harping on the inefficiency of the livestock industry and the inept utilization of machinery as the two major bottlenecks of agriculture. Frequent references are made to squandering and pilfering in the collective farms. Information on industry is fragmentary and diffuse in character.

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## IDEOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

Kazakh Party Congress: Republic's Weaknesses Revealed: The economic, political and ideological weaknesses of Kazakh SSR, frequently aired on the Alma Ata radio, were again brought to public attention at the Fifth Congress of the Kazakh Communist Party. Reviewing the Republic's progress since the previous Party Congress, Central Committee Secretary Shayakhmetov admits numerous shortcomings in the Kazakh economy but the brunt of his attack is directed against the chinks in the Republic's ideological and political armor. His report summarizes the weaknesses which the regional radio and press have been highlighting for a long time.

Agriculture: Shayakhmetov bemoans the "great deal of waste" of livestock and the "considerable losses" sustained through the death of all kinds of stock of which, he says, "we have many proofs" (u nas mnogo dokazatelstv). Another malpractice, according to the report, is the illegal squandering of livestock "for so-called inner-kolkhoz needs" (dlia tak nazyvayemykh vnutri-kolkhoznykh nuzhd) which, in the Soviet vernacular, is another way of referring to excessive consumption. All this is said to have resulted in the fact that "no part" of the 3-year livestock development plan has been fulfilled. Neither does the speaker leave any doubt as to the cause of the trouble:

It is necessary to admit and to stress strongly that serious shortcomings and errors have been permitted in livestock breeding mainly by the Central Committee of the Kazakh Communist Party, the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR and the Republic's Ministers of Agriculture and Sovkhoses.

These bodies are also blamed for the failure of the grain and cotton-delivery plan. The shortcomings of the cotton industry in particular are revealed to be of a chronic nature: "we still fail year in and year out to meet our obligations for the delivery of cotton..." The planned harvest yields in the sugar beet industry have not materialized in Dzhambul, Alma Ata and Taldy Kurgan and other oblasts are not far ahead.

The sovkhoses, or state farms, which are owned and operated by the Government and subject to stricter state control than the kolkhozes, are not doing so well either, according to Shayakhmetov. They are "not fulfilling" the 3-year livestock development plan for long-horned cattle, sheep and poultry. The productivity of the stock "is still very low" and the raising of offspring is unsatisfactory in the state farms. They appear to succumb to the same temptations as their sister kolkhozes. "In many sovkhoses, finances are not in order and the wasting of Government funds as well as livestock and produce still occurs."

The unremitting drive for enlarged collective farms (ukрупnennye kolkhozy), as discussed in previous CPW reports, does not get much publicity on the Soviet radio or in the press, but there are infrequent references to it. Shayakhmetov points to the merging of small collective farms as "the most important event in the life of our kolkhoz economy." According to data on hand, he says, 5558 small farms have already merged into 2047 larger units, bringing the total number of the Republic's kolkhozes down to 3220. The average collective farm consisted of 91 individual holdings prior to the merger; its present size is equivalent to 186 individual holdings.

Squandering and waste, it is revealed, are not confined to agriculture alone. Government funds have been known to disappear from the banks and the internal revenue organizations (nalogoviy apparat). The heads of various enterprises as well as the budget authorities are said to resort to the shameful (pozorniy) practice of issuing funds as "state advances" (gosudarstvennye zadatki) for the sole purpose of "covering up the deficits" incurred by their own mismanagement. The poor selection and inadequate education of cadres in banks and financial institutions, says the report, has resulted in the waste and theft (pokhishchenie) of Government funds.

Financial mismanagement and faulty distribution of consumers' goods in Kazakhstan are ascribed also to the Republic's retail trading organizations. The Kazakh Ministry of Trade, including Minister Zafargaliyev, says Shayakhmetov, do not take a "profound interest" in the consumer and his needs. Much of the consumers' goods is said to be of substandard quality and limited assortment. And what is worse, the wrong planning on the part of the Trade Ministry results in the excessive accumulation of goods in one place and inadequate accumulation in another.

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Continued Ideological Weaknesses: Shayakhmetov's references to matters of ideology are more poignant. The gravity of the situation is implicitly stressed in his exhortation to toe the line. The treatment of Kazakh history, literature, language and arts is still backward, and "it is imperative to eliminate (this backwardness) in the shortest possible time...." The Kazakh Union of Soviet Writers as well as many individual writers and artists are belabored for their insufficient vigilance and the tendency to wander off into abstractions which are "by their very nature" bourgeois-nationalist. Redefining their duties as (a) keeping in close touch with current life and (b) developing more criticism and self-criticism, the Secretary hints that both precepts have been largely neglected and that the "real principled Bolshevik criticism has been replaced by friendly relations and mutual praise." Kazakh artists, poets and composers are taken to task for their failure to produce anything worthwhile based on current events. What they produce is insufficient in quantity and ideologically perverse:

They distort Soviet reality and attribute backward morals and customs to the Soviet people. As for plays and operas on historical themes, some of them are ideologically perverse and need radical rewriting.

Russian version:

V nikh iskazhayetsia nasha sovetskaya deystvitel'nost'. Sovetskim lyudiam pripisyvayutsia ostal'nye morali i obychai. Chto kazayetsia pyes i oper na istoricheskie temi, to nekotorye iz nikh idetno porochnye i nuzhdayutsia v korennoi pererabotke.

The treatment of the problem of linguistics and the work of the Kazakh film industry are "utterly unsatisfactory" (krainie neudovletvoritel'no). "Not a single artistic film about Soviet Kazakhstan has been produced in the past three years." The failings in linguistics (yazykovedenie) are all the more serious since they affect the study of the Russian language which is admittedly unsuccessful: "one of the chief shortcomings of educational work in the schools is the low level of Russian language teaching." This deficiency is a brake on the cultural development of the Kazakh youth and prevents the fusion (priobshchenie) of Kazakh culture with the "rich treasures of progressive Russian literature."

It is the task of the Party organizations and the educational authorities to overcome this serious defect as soon as possible, bearing in mind that it is not possible to be a literate, progressive and cultured person without the knowledge of Russian.

Russian version:

Zadachi partynnykh organizatsiy i organov narodnogo obrazovaniya zaklyuchayutsia v tom, chtoby kak mozhno skoreye preodolet' etot seryoznyy nedostatok, imeya v vidu chto nelzya byt gramotnym, peredovym i vsestoronno kulturnym chelovekom ne znaya russkogo yazyka.

The primacy and achievements of the Russians are said to be "poorly expounded" because of the inadequate political education of the professors, instructors and college students. The Marxism-Leninism Department of the Kazakh University is blamed for its policy of non-interference (politika nevmeshatelstva) in matters of ideology. It did nothing to expose (razoblachit) the bourgeois-nationalist distortions of historian Bet Makhanov and others. There is no elaboration on the nature of these distortions except a passing reference to the work of the Institute of Kazakh Party History where "serious shortcomings and mistakes" are still in evidence.

(Of some interest is Shayakhmetov's incidental reference to an unsigned PRAVDA article "For a Marxist-Leninist Illumination of the Questions of the History of Kazakhstan" published some time ago (not broadcast). That article "not only revealed" the gross ideological distortions in Kazakh science but also alerted the Republican Party to the existing danger. The first Kazakh reaction to PRAVDA's criticism was the calling of a plenary session of the Central Committee of the Kazakh Communist Party early last October. [See CPW report for that period.] The seriousness of the charges and counter-charges involving the Central Committee secretaries and other high officials of the Republic may have brought about or at least hastened the assembly of the present Party Congress.)

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The Secretary is remarkably frank in his review of the nationalist tendencies in Kazakhstan. The situation, he hints, has assumed sinister proportions since the "nationalists" have abandoned their open methods in favor of covert activities. The "full political importance" of this, he declares, must be explained anew to every primary Party organization, every Communist and nonparty member, for "there is no other way of counteracting the manifestations of bourgeois nationalism." The chief object of Shayakhmetov's diatribe, however, is isolationism.

There are no such nationalists who now speak openly against the friendship of peoples. Nationalism manifests itself in different ways now. It is expressed in the striving for aloofness and retiring into the shell of national frontiers... by leaving contemporary reality for the distant past and by exciting admiration for that past from other than a Marxist-Leninist standpoint.

Russian version:

Seychas net takikh natsionalistov kotorige by otkryto vystupali protiv druzhby narodov. Natsionalizm teper proyavlyayet sebja po-inomu. On vyrazhayetsia v stremlenii obosobitsia i zamknutsia v ramkakh natsionalnoi pogranichnosti... v ukhode ot sovremennosti v dalyokoye proshloye, v voskhishchenii etogo proshlogo ne s marksistko-leninskikh pozitsiy.

A dark hint at the possible consequences of such a policy is also contained in the report. Greater vigilance is urged against the "least manifestation" of bourgeois nationalism and similar ideological deviations. "Unless manifestations of nationalism are discovered in good time, they can do great harm... to the friendship of peoples of the USSR." (Esli vo-vremia ne raspoznat proyavlenia natsionalizma, to on mozhet nanesti bolshoi vred... druzhbe narodov Soyuza SSR.) References to Party purges are, in fact, implicit in the speaker's strictures about the Central Committee's bungling job in the selection of Party cadres. These shortcomings, it is revealed, are due also to the constantly changing composition of the leading Communist organizations "...because a large percentage of workers have been dismissed or released from their positions... for having compromised themselves."

#### Kazakh Party: Strong Numerically and Weak Politically.

The membership of the Kazakh Communist Party as of 1 November 1951, is given as 229,793 including 31,708 candidates. (26% of the Party membership consists of workers, 28% of peasants and 46% of office workers and others.) This, according to Shayakhmetov is satisfactory progress. The political qualifications of many of the Party members and their behavior, however, leave much to be desired. "Unworthy behavior," "breaking away from the Party organization" and "abuse of official position" are still characteristic of many individual Communists. Manifestations of insubordination, religion and bourgeois-nationalist tendencies are evident among the Komsomols who now number 396,383.

**Inferior Status of Women Criticized:** The "feudal survivals" repeatedly alluded to in the report apply particularly to the treatment of women who are still kept out of public life and humiliated. Kazakh women and girls are prevented from holding leading positions in the Party, Soviet, economic and trade union organizations and little attention is paid to their education. Severe punishment is demanded for those who persist in bigamy, marriage of minors and the debauchery of women in general:

...in some oblasts, particularly in South Kazakhstan, Kzyl Orda and Dzhambul oblasts, there are still disgraceful manifestations of old feudal survivals such as bigamy and the marriage of minors.... A more intensive struggle must be waged against the survival of the feudal system in regard to women, with severe punishment for those who debase the honor and dignity of Soviet women.

Russian version:

...v nekotorykh oblastyakh, i osobenno v Yuzhno-Kazakhstanskoy, Kzyl Ordinskoy, Dzhambulskey oblastyakh, yeshche imeyut mesto pozornie fakty proyavlenia feodalnobaiskikh perezhitkov, kak dvoezhenstvo, zhenitba na nesovershennoletnikh... neobkhodimo bolee reshitelno vesti borbu s proyavleniyami feodalno-baiskikh perezhitkov v otnoshenii k zhenshchinam, privilekaya k surovoy otvetstvennosti tekh kto prinizhayet chest i dostoinstvo sovetskikh zhenshchin.

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PRAVDA's account of the Kazakh Party Congress (21 December, not broadcast) is largely factual and restrained. Among the observations made by the paper is that the "Republic is still slow" in finding a solution of the chief agricultural problems. The grain yield in many areas is still inadequate and cattle productivity is unsatisfactory. The paper also refers to Central Committee Secretary Omarov as the former secretary who "hindered the exposure of bourgeois nationalists" (meshal razoblacheniu burzhuaznikh natsionalistov.)

Some of the salient points highlighted at the Party Congress are discussed by KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA on 28 December. In an obvious reference to what Shayakhmetov styled covert activities on the part of the Kazakh nationalists, the paper says that:

The nature of these perversions and errors is that certain historians propagated bourgeois nationalism in the history of Kazakhstan under the guise of national culture.

Russian version:

Sushchestvo etikh izvrashcheniy i oshibok sostoit v tom, chto nekotoraya chast istorikov pod vidom natsionalnoy kultury propagandirovala bourzhuazniy natsionalizm v istorii Kazakhstana.

That much damage has already been done by the nationalists, particularly to the youth, is admitted by the editorial. Cited also are the measures now being taken to combat their influence:

The subversive activities of the bourgeois nationalists have been designed to weaken the ties of friendship among the nations in our country and have caused more than a little harm to the Communist education of the youth.

The Academy of Sciences is at present reviewing and revaluating the trends which took place in Kazakhstan during the 18th and 19th centuries. The textbooks on Kazakh literature and language are being reprocessed.

Russian version:

Podryvnaya rabota burzhuaznikh natsionalistov byla napravlena na oslablenie druzhby narodov nashei strany i nanesla nemaliy vred komunisticheskomu vospitaniiu molodezhi;

Akademiya nauk seychas izuchayet i peresmatrivayet otsenku dvizheniy imevshikh mesto v Kazakhstane v 18-om i 19-om stoletiyakh. Zhenovo pererabatyvayutsia uchebniki po kazakhskoy literature i yazyku.

Less informative items on ideological affairs are broadcast from a variety of sources, and the subject is treated in conventional terms. Following are some of them in chronological order:

- 18 December: Some Rayon Party and Komsomol organizations have not yet become aware of the importance of the ideological role of education. This applies in the first place to Murovano-Kurylovetsky, Pliskovsky, Pogrebishchensky and other rayons. (VINNITSKA PRAVDA)
- 21 December: In schools and institutes, young people are still using textbooks in which a number of events in the history of Osetia are incorrectly presented. (from Dzauzhikau, North Osetia)
- 22 December: A wrong attitude toward political lectures prevails, for example, in the Ivanovsky Rayon Party Committee, Pinsk Oblast...serious shortcomings have also come to light in the work of the Osipovichsky, Bykhovsky and Postavsky district Party Committees.... (ZVYAZDA)
- 24 December: Criticism of Belorussian literary works is often conducted without taking into account the great experience of leading Russian literature, and without showing the latter's profound influence upon the development of national literatures. (ZVEZDA, Minsk)

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- 29 December: Little is being done to cope with the reaction of bourgeois science and Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists (among post graduate university students). (SOTSIALISTICHNA KHARKIVSHCHINA)
- 29 December: The plenary session of the Stalino Oblast Party Committee passed a number of decisions designed to improve the ideological work of the Oblast Party organizations. (Kiev in Ukrainian)

**PARTY ACTIVITIES**

Political Studies: Evidence that academic progress in the Party school network is something less than satisfactory is provided by a number of regional sources. Characteristically, there is no reference to the possible lack of enthusiasm on the part of the students. The major guilt is familiarly attributed to the Party organizations concerned and the teachers whose methods of instruction are said to lack inspiration. PRAVDA (18 December) points to the unsatisfactory instruction in the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, political economy and philosophy and cites two reasons for that deficiency--the low theoretical standard of lectures and seminars and the "dry and formalistic" method of teaching. PSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA (18 December) speaks of the "dislocation of studies" in a number of rayons recently brought to light at the Komsomol conferences. The new school year, it is claimed, is off to a bad start because Komsomol influence among the youth, particularly in the rural areas, is insignificant. Some collective farms, in fact, have no Komsomols at all and the young farmers are therefore deprived of the benefits of political education. The only way to remedy the situation, according to the paper, is "to rebuild fundamentally" the leadership of the primary organizations.

That independent studies of Party history in Stalingrad Town and Oblast are a failure is admitted by STALINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA (21 December): "many Stalingrad Communists... nominally engaged in independent studies of Party history... in fact do not sit down to their books." The propagandists themselves, whose duty it is to conduct seminars and aid the independent students, are poorly equipped for their tasks. The daily press, on the other hand, doesn't "expose and censure" the shortcomings in the Party educational work. KRASNYY SEVER (26 December) belabors "certain Party organs" which limit their activities to "defining what work shall be done" but do not bother to look into the actual performance. This, the paper claims, is particularly true of Communist training in the Party schools where attendance is not even supervised. As for educational progress in general, the editorial believes that only strict measures would solve the problem: "make those not wishing to study give a strict account of themselves."

Lax Party supervision over socialist competition and the apathetic attitude toward criticism and self-criticism are discussed along familiar lines in a few scattered reports. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA (26 December), for example, cautions certain unnamed Komsomol leaders against "raising their voices of command instead of trying to persuade and influence people." Criticism and self-criticism, says the paper, is the best method of combating overadministration, and firm administration "is no sign of strength." VELIKOLUSKAYA PRAVDA (23 December) inveighs against the attempts of unnamed Party officials to hush up criticism of their work, and the lack of criticism and self-criticism noted at the so-called report and election meetings now being held throughout the oblast.

**AGRICULTURE**

PRAVDA's traditional year-end reviews of economic and political achievements are reserved for the last three issues of December and are familiarly optimistic. The references to shortcomings appearing in the preceding issues are somewhat milder in tone than usual. In agriculture, the general editorial line is that the year's achievements are as great as expected--except in tractor repairs. The collection and delivery of grain to the State are said to have been completed ahead of schedule, and socialist competition among agricultural workers and machine operators is "in full swing." Information on the progress of the livestock industry, a target of frequent editorial criticism, is fragmentary and comes from scattered regional sources.

The targets for the overhaul of machinery, says PRAVDA on 22 December, have not been reached in a number of areas, and in some places the situation is bad enough to warrant concentrated attention. The Tambov, Crimean and Astrakhan Oblasts and Altai Krai are named as the critical areas. They are said to be backward in regard

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to both quantity and quality of repairs. As a result of insufficient control over the repair work "a number of engines had to be overhauled for the second time." According to ZARYA (19 December), the lack of skilled tractor and combine operators accounts for the frequent idleness of tractors in Dnepropetrovsk oblast. The training of operators is said to be extremely unsatisfactory and the lack of skill in handling the machinery results in frequent breakdowns. UKRAINSKAYA PRAVDA (18 December) says that one way to improve the tractor-repair situation is to adopt the multiple or section-work method (uzlovoy metod-literally, the knot method). Another, is simply to "fight against idle workers and shirkers."

A note of alarm is sounded by GPORNIENSKAYA PRAVDA (21 December) which admits the failure of the tractor-repair plan for the fourth quarter of the year: "more than 50% of the machine-tractor stations have not yet completed the repair of even one tractor." RABOCHIIY PUT (27 December) characterizes the work of a number of machine-tractor stations in the oblast as "drifting" and planless. Last year's mistakes it says, are being repeated and the repair work for the pre-spring period is already delayed at Znamensky, Yartsevo, Monastyrshchinsk, Glinkovsky, Yelyushinsky and a number of other machine-tractor stations.

The extent of poor treatment of cattle in Nivshinsk Oblast may be inferred from SOVETSKAYA GIMNIA reference to the subject on 19 December: "Such anti-State practices have endangered the successful fulfillment of the plan for the development of stockbreeding." In the addition to the losses resulting from bad care, the paper complains, many animals, particularly in Kargatsky rayon, "have been killed and sold" which is a "crude violation" (gruboye narusheniye) of the kolkhoz code. Some kolkhoz chairmen, it is asserted, take it upon themselves to dispose of cattle from considerations of local consumption needs. This, the paper stresses, is against the law:

It is time it was understood that this is forbidden without the permission of the rayon Party Executive Committee and without the knowledge of the kolkhoz members as a whole.

RABOCHIIY PUT (26 December) says that many stock farms "have been caught unawares" by the winter season in Karmovsky, Krasninsky, Galkovsky, Kozeshchlovsky, Znamensky, Dikhovshchinsky, Vyazna and Baturinsky Rayons. Winter housing facilities for the cattle in these rayons are said to be inadequate and the fodder distribution unsatisfactory.

Flax-processing and delivery is another item claiming some regional attention. As seen from the quotations listed below, the flax industry appears to be hamstrung by lack of mechanization and slow deliveries.

PSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, 19 December: The processing and delivery of flax in the oblast are carried out extremely slowly. The Lyadsky, Gdov, Karayushovo and Strugo-Krasnensky Rayons have fulfilled the State flax-delivery plan by less than 13%.

VELIKOLUKSKAYA PRAVDA, 19 December: Kholm'sky, Podterezinsky and Kudeversky Rayons have not fulfilled even a quarter of the flax-delivery plans.

VELIKOLUKSKAYA PRAVDA, 26 December: "...our oblast is still lagging behind in the deliveries of flax...the main thing is to use machines at full capacity.

SOVETSKAYA RODINA, 21 December: The oblast agricultural administration does not devote sufficient attention to...mechanization of flax-processing.

The "essential shortcomings" in the education of kolkhoz personnel are discussed by RYANSKA UKRAINE (20 December). In some oblasts, it appears, the membership of the rural schools is far below the planned figure, and in others the number of schools is insufficient. In Gomy Oblast, for example, only 76.6% of the expected students are attending schools, and the attendance is said to be even lower in Chernigov, Rovno, Drohobych and Volhyn Oblasts. In Mlynovsky Rayon of Voroshilovgrad Oblast, on the other hand, agricultural courses have been opened at only one kolkhoz.

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## INDUSTRY

The drive for less production waste and lower costs predominates the meager regional output on industry. STALINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA (19 December) urges the extension of the budgeting or cost accounting method to the individual production brigades:

Basic quotas for the use of power, fuel, raw materials and equipment must be established to determine the budgeting norms as well as various production quotas for the different goods which are processed.

Discussing the "considerable losses for the State" incurred by the Ministry for Housing Construction in the past year, RADIYANSKA UKRAINA (19 December) claims that only "a system for the economic use" of building materials would keep losses down to a minimum. SOVIETAGAN HAYASDAN (25 December) speaks of a number of unnamed construction sites which "systematically fail" to fulfill their norms because of poor labor organization and inept utilization of machinery. Poor production quality, particularly in the cooperative enterprises, is the object of criticism by SOVIETSKAYA SIBIR on 27 December. The "inadmissible" negligent attitude toward the consumers' needs is cited in the case of a new bed which collapsed within a week after it was sold. Despite the fact that this "shocking" affair was reported to the rayon newspaper and the appropriate authorities, the customer got no redress and the "bunglers remained unpunished." The losses sustained by the civilian construction enterprises in Rostov Oblast, according to MOLOT (21 December), are attributable to the insufficient number of stakhanovites in production.

A report from Tashkent (30 December) stresses the need for saving raw materials and lowering production costs by the Uzbek consumers' industry, and a dispatch from Stalingrad (30 December) criticizes the "inattentive and sometimes rude" attitude towards consumers in general: "some goods do not reach the consumers and are squandered at the warehouses." It is not accidental, says the report, that hundreds of thousands of rubles' worth of unneeded goods are piled up at some workers' supply departments while others experience shortages of essential commodities.

VELIKOLUKSKAYA PRAVDA (28 December) hints that the poor showing of the lumber industry may have something to do with the living conditions of the lumberjacks. The paper makes only inferential reference to production per se by saying that no good production results can be expected unless the lumberjacks are well housed and well fed. Some of the workers' most elementary needs, it is claimed, are neglected by the officials in charge of their welfare. As a result, "the workers' hostels...are cold and dirty" and "the most essential goods are unavailable" in the workers' canteens. The catering organizations in many lumbering enterprises, the paper admits, have not even made any arrangement "to provide a hot meal" daily for the lumberjacks. A general idea of the lumber workers' "home life" may be inferred from what the editorial admits as intolerable: "people responsible for them...should see to it... that after his working day a lumber jack can dry his clothes and footwear and rest comfortably."

## MISCELLANEOUS

Administrative Red Tape: PSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA (27 December) discusses the oblast and rayon civil servants and says that many of them are "indifferent to everything that is new and progressive, indifferent to red tape." "Heartless reception" of visitors, the paper complains, is still common occurrence in the oblast and town health services as well as in the Oblast Department of Agriculture. This, "disgraces the Soviet apparatus" in the eyes of the Soviet people who condemn formalism, and red tape and bureaucracy and who want to see in each Soviet employee "a representative of authority."

Population Increase: Discussing Soviet economic and cultural progress since 1940 (12 December), President of the USSR Chamber of Commerce Nesterov says that the mortality rate in the Soviet Union has been cut in half since that year while child mortality registered an even bigger drop. "The net annual increase of the population exceeds the 1940 figures and comprises more than 3,000,000 people."

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